592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other [928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was [562] strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [839] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō cho, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* [a Japanese], keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Iqen Zokuwa*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

[P. 18(B)]